

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

Vol. 5, No. 8

CHICAGO, AUGUST, 1924

Price 10 Cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post-Office at Chicago, Illinois, January 26th, 1918, Under the Act of March 3rd, 1879.

IN THIS ISSUE

	Page
ONE HUNDRED DAYS!	1
RULES OF POLITICAL CONDUCT FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY	4
DEBS REPLIES TO FOSTER	6
RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE SOCIALIST CONVENTION	8

	Page
DEBS ACCEPTS CHAIRMANSHIP	12
C. P. P. A. RESOLUTIONS	13
A CAMPAIGN CANARD	14
A FEW WORDS TO DOUBTERS	15
PROCLAMATION OF THE UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY OF ITALY	16

ONE HUNDRED DAYS!

By George R. Kirkpatrick.

Plutocracy has *confessed*—its duplicity.

The time has come for war—and the people's victory.

But beware!

Only one hundred days remain to build for battles—and the *first* victory.

One hundred days remain for a supreme stroke of high strategy by and for this nation's common people, 100 days for the *first* battle of a short, swift series of stunning, smashing blow over the heart of plutocracy.

The Democratic Party—with Davis at its head—now *admits* its shameless role as misleader of the common people. The Democratic Party, always pretentious friend of toil, now stands painted and grinning before the American common people, *confessing* herself a place-hunting queen of liars, and brazenly invites our common people to place her once again in the White House, and in the National Legislature, to be again sly mistress to plutocracy.

Our time has come—precisely as a great time came in other days—in 1856, in 1858—for 1860.

Our time has indeed come—for our struggle—and victory.

Understand:—Even tho the Democratic Party has now *admitted* its insincerity, still the struggle must be *further* simplified and clarified in outline and thus *all* confusion, *all* misunderstanding be removed—just as in 1856 and '58 the political battlefield was *cleared up* for the battle royal of 1860.

Before us now stand two powerful enemy organizations,—the Republican Party and the Demo-

cratic Party, BOTH GUILTY,—equally enemies of the plain people; equally beneficiaries of profiteers; equally befriended by bankers; equally guilty of betrayals and outrages upon the common people; equally in actual practice, defenders of the tyranny of the injunction courts; equally wreckers of millions of bankrupt and miserable farmers; equally, in actual practice, scornful of the wage-earners' right to work; equally ready to turn the machine guns against strikers and against the hungry and desperate unemployed if they demand work and thus demand the right to live by work; equally guilty of wrapping the American flag around the nation's treasures in Tea-Pot Domes and selling them at knock-down bargains to "inside" friendly looters. The Republican Party is *frankly* defiant DEFENDER of insolent Big Business. The Democratic Party is cunning PRETENDER to friendship for the common people,—and this latter party thus disastrously *confuses* millions of voters, slyly leading them to the shambles of Plutocracy.

Now, not as a matter of preference as between the two old parties, the too-old organized lovers of the looters, but simply as a 'military necessity' on the political battlefield—to *clear the air*—so that unconfused by false promises, false cries, false banners and false leaders, the common people may quickly and *squarely* face Plutocracy and drive it forever from the field,—for this purpose of political clarification—the self-confessed PRETENDER, the Democratic Party, must be completely routed off the field, while at the same time the Republican

Party, insolent, *open* defender of Big Business, must be weakened everywhere and weakened now—pitilessly cannonaded with the ballots of all who seek release from Plutocracy and long for the clear-cut fight that looms in sight.

The time has come to destroy the Democratic Party, — pseudo 'left-wing' of Plutocracy — in November, and thus open wide the way for the necessary clear-cut *two-sided* battles of the ballots for the emancipation of this nation's common people.

Only 100 days remain for an *absolutely necessary first battle*, this first decisive battle which—in the present astonishing circumstances can be won,—and thus can be revealed to the plain people the plain people's power for self-defense.

The time has also come for the plain people to prepare perfectly to defeat easily—and completely — the Republican Party in the next presidential election in 1928.

The time has come for the common people to prepare rapidly to come swiftly to power in a thousand towns and cities—in the 'Republican North' and the 'Democratic South'—in the spring municipal elections of 1925—and march on to the Great Emancipation.

The time has come for the common people to prepare perfectly to send easily a hundred of their own Congressmen and their own Senators—north and south—to our National Legislature—and march on to the Great Emancipation.

The time has come for this nation's common people to prepare swiftly to destroy utterly American plutocracy—and proudly take command of their own welfare, their own flag, their own freedom, their own industry, their own destiny—the Great Emancipation.

How can this be done?

By building the fires of hope, courage, pride, daring, self-reliance, and defiance—and unity of feeling—in the hearts of the American common people;—and by doing this in the next 100 days of *absolutely unparalleled opportunity*.

Each hour now is part of a golden opportunity, an opportunity sublime with meaning, sublime with promise, sublime with latent revolution to roll on presently, in good order, to industrial freedom, to the Great Emancipation for the sons and daughters of toil,—sublime indeed if swiftly seized and used by our common people to COMPEL A NEW ALIGNMENT in American politics, to COMPEL plutocracy and all of plutocracy's friends, all American reactionaries, to strip themselves of pretense and fight frankly in the open; 100 days remain to compel all of them hereafter to assemble in the pitiless political daylight, and hereafter reveal their character, and admit their purpose; 100 days remain to force plutocracy to line up in *one*, and

only one—dollar-marked army armed with gold for war, bitter war, against the plain people, who, *thus warned, thus roused, thus stung to pride and self-respect*, will hereafter—following November—undauntedly insist on a NEW PARTY of their own, will hereafter holdly demand that the toilers assemble in one and only one, genuine army of the common people under one banner of the common people—to fight without fear, to throw down plutocracy, to go free, unhindered by professional betrayers, marching swiftly on to the Great Emancipation.

The time has indeed come for the first decisive battle of money against men,—with men, *awake*, the sure winners.

Sneering plutocracy, perfect master of two great national conventions, writes two platforms for plutocracy, dominates both old party policies for plutocracy, boldly picks two candidates for plutocracy, and now sneeringly challenges America's common people to 'pick a winner'—but surely lose to plutocracy—boldly challenges the plain people to war—in November. The brazen beast of plutocracy thus screams defiance in the face of the plain people.

Plutocracy has confessed.

Plutocracy has named two generals for its two-winged, dollar-marked army,—one a strike-breaker; the other, a hand-picked, dangerously clever would-be wrecker of organized labor's treasury; these two favourites of Wall street are picked to lead and betray labor in the present phase of plutocracy's shameless game of national loot.

Nothing more frank was ever done in American politics than was boldly done by the Republican party in the Cleveland National Convention—in nominating cold Cal Coolidge, whose lips are always curved with contempt for the men and women who toil.

Nothing more daring was ever done in American politics than was defiantly done by the Democratic Party in the New York National Convention—in nominating a boasting attorney and tool of J. P. Morgan and Company, tool of the Guarantee Trust Company, tool of the Telephone Trust, tool of the Erie Railway Company, and recently master tool of the Standard Oil Company.

The bold frankness of the Republicans and the insolent defiance of the Democrats have done the common people of this land an incalculable service.

The clouds of doubt are rolling away.

The issue all can see—now.

The workers are stung to wakefulness,—lashed with the whips of contempt till but one thing remains for them to do—to cease whining, cease teasing and cease complaining,—and stand up and fight with a pride they never showed before.

One hundred golden days remain to assemble the ballots of twenty million common people and hurl

them against the walls of plutocracy in November; then force the Democratic plutocratic reactionary pretenders to go thereafter where they belong—into the Republican party. The Democratic party, thus wiped out, will never again play the party of painted political decoy to beguile American workers to defeat—to lay their necks again under the heel of plutocracy.

This would clear the field for action.

This would clear the political vision of 40,000,000 American voters who live by *their own labor*.

But how can that be done?

By rolling up twenty million votes in November for LaFollette, LaFollette, tested by fire for forty years, clean and unflinching for forty years, heroically industrious for forty years,—unstained in a long life time—LaFollette, now proposing a new political party to be organized as soon as—in November—the common people have *realize the common people's power*, and the fires of pride and courage leap high in their hearts and they thus learn to set their feet firmly in the new way leading to the Great Emancipation.

The situation is simple.

Sneering plutocracy contemptuously challenges us to battle in November, thus:

There stands the cold-blooded Boston Strike-breaker, insulting millions of bankrupt and desperate farmers, kicking the soldier boys in the face in a lying plea of 'no funds' at the very time his Secretary of the Treasury was boasting of a six hundred million dollar surplus,—brutally laughing at the underpaid, overworked postal toilers, defying labor generally and applauding plutocracy continually,—such a man, or manikin, stiff, frigid and bloodless, insultingly heads the Republican party.

On the other hand, there stands a sleek and shameless legal flunky fattened to sodden satiety on the ghoulish plunder of J. P. Morgan and Company for his desperate effort before the Supreme Court to wreck utterly the treasuries of organized labor,—(in the Coronado Coal Company strike case),—aye, fattened by the Erie Railway Company, fattened by the Telephone Trust, for a shameless legal "trick" now costing New York City six million dollars a year; fattened by the Standard Oil Company, *whose attorney he was when that company got its naval oil land grants in California*;—such a man, plunder fattened favorite and flunky of plutocracy, the shameless, sodden Davis, audaciously heads the Democratic party.

The toilers are invited to take their choice:—the cold-blooded strike-breaker, or the dollar-marked boaster who did his best to break the treasuries of organized labor:—invited to take their choice—and surely lose.

One hundred days remain to rouse the sweating

multitude,—sweating on the hills, in the valleys and on wide prairies, slaving now as looted farmers; sweating in the mills, mines and forests, sweating in the offices and shops, sweating on the trains and along the tracks—slaving now as looted wage-earners;—100 days to send the clarion call for battle now, to build now the fires of hope and courage, for battle in a brand-new party of our own next spring in the municipal elections, for battle two years hence in a new party in the Congressional elections, for battle four years hence in the presidential election,—plutocracy against the people, the Republican party against the new American Labor Party.

Oh, toilers of this land lift up your eyes, take in the vision, and *go quickly to your places for work*, to build the fires of determination; and work as never before, work toward the Great Emancipation, work in the one hundred days of preparation for the series of victories leading on to freedom—work as you have never worked before.

Fall into your places, do your part and after the election *unitedly demand your part of the victory—an American Labor Party for labor's Great Emancipation*.

Plutocracy kicked us in the face at Cleveland.

Plutocracy kicked us in the face at New York.

Plutocracy sneers and jeers in haughty confidence that American Labor is a humble political mule, a prideless, spineless fool.

Answer! farmers. Answer! wage-earners—under the new banner in November twenty million strong!—for LaFollette, and then for an American Labor Party to sweep the whole field for victorious labor.

Get on the job. *Get on the ballot—now*. Get out the literature—millions of pieces of it. Get out the people—to thousands of meetings. Register. Register. And have your lazy neighbors register—else you are all disfranchised for this time.

Then get out the vote and demand a straight count.

Then—all together!—demand the new party, an American Labor Party. Demand it. Take it. Command it—your American Labor Party. And march on—rapidly on to the Great Emancipation.

Our time has come.

Clear the decks! Man the guns!

HILLQUIT'S NEW LEAFLET ON THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

DO IT NOW: Get Morris Hillquit's perfectly clear and wonderfully instructive new leaflet, **THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY**. Truly, Comrades, millions of these leaflets should be distributed—before November. This leaflet is an inspiration to all workers who read it—fills them with desire and determination to have a *Labor Party*.

RULES OF POLITICAL CONDUCT FOR ALL SOCIALIST PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

To All State and Local Organizations and Individual Members of the Socialist Party

Greetings:

The national convention of our party has by almost unanimous vote decided to join in the new political movement inaugurated by the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

In the coming election the Socialist Party is pledged to the candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette for President of the United States and of Burton K. Wheeler for Vice-President.

The party has entered into the political alliance freely and whole-heartedly because the new political movement is made up mainly of large bodies of organized workers and toiling farmers and raises a clear-cut issue between the producers and the spoilers of the country. The place of the Socialist Party always has been, always must be with the workers.

But we are entering upon this historical campaign not as an aggregation of individual citizens, but as an organized body. We have made it abundantly clear to our allies and opponents alike that we are decided to preserve the integrity of the Socialist Party organization and to maintain our full adherence to the principles of the Socialist program.

The coming campaign, therefore, imposes a double task on us: to give effective and whole-hearted support to the new movement with which we have chosen to link our political fortunes, and to maintain, extend and strengthen our own party at the same time.

With this double object in view the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has formulated the following rules of political conduct for the coming campaign:

1. *Ticket of Presidential Electors.*

(a) The state conventions of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, in which the local Socialist Party organizations will participate, will name a full ticket of Presidential Electors in each state. The identical ticket must be named by all political bodies supporting the candidacy of LaFollette and Wheeler to make the vote for them effective. No state organization of the Socialist Party should nominate Presidential electors different from those named by the State Convention of the C.P.P.A.

(b) In states in which the election law permits the same list of Presidential Electors to appear on

the ballot two or more times as the candidates of different parties, the Socialist Party should, wherever possible, place such list on the ballot under our own party name.

(c) In states in which the name of a Presidential Elector is not permitted to appear more than once on the ballot, the Socialist Party shall endorse the list of Electors named by the State Conference for Progressive Political Action but shall refrain from placing them on the ballot as Socialist Party candidates unless requested to do so by the National Campaign Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

(d) Should the political situation or the requirements of the election law in any state make it impracticable to follow the course above outlined, the state organization should follow the directions of the National Campaign Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

2. *State Organizations.*

The state organizations of the Socialist Party and every organized local, ward branch or assembly district within the state are entitled to one delegate in every state convention called by the Conference for Progressive Political Action. All such organizations should send delegates and should participate in the organization and work of the conventions and campaign committee. If a state convention of the C.P.P.A. decides to nominate an independent state ticket, in co-operation with the Socialist Party, the latter should abstain from naming a rival ticket, but should endorse the ticket nominated by the C. P.P.A. convention. In such a case the Socialist Party state organization should follow the same course with respect to placing state candidates on the ballot as was above outlined with respect to Presidential electors. If the C.P.P.A. convention does not name an independent state ticket, the Socialist Party should nominate its own ticket and place it on the ballot under our party name as heretofore.

3. *Local Organizations.*

Under the rules of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, local conventions may be held for the nomination of local officers and the organization of local campaign committees. The basis of representation in such local conventions is the same as in state conventions. Socialist locals, and organized subdivisions of locals, should participate in such

conventions and, if need be, initiate them. The rules about nominations and filing of tickets above provided for state offices hold equally good with respect to local offices.

4. *Congressional Elections.*

The Conference for Progressive Political Action and Senators LaFollette and Wheeler lay special stress on the election of progressive members to Congress in the coming election. It is recommended that wherever possible the Socialists unite with organized labor and other progressive political forces in the nomination of independent candidates to Congress. Where such independent nominations are not made, the Socialist should as a rule make their own party nominations. But when a candidate of another party has the official endorsement and approval of the National organization of the C.P.P.A., and the Socialist Party has no chance of election, it may be best, in the campaign of 1924, to abstain from making a rival nomination.

5. *Socialist Campaigning.*

The state and local organizations of the Socialist Party and their members should co-operate in all practical activities of the joint campaign committees, whole-heartedly, without reserve and without thought to partisan political advantages. But that is not to be interpreted as a policy of self-obliteration. On the contrary the Socialist Party in addition to its work in the general campaign of the C.P.P.A. must carry on a distinctly Socialist campaign more actively and energetically than ever.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will prepare a variety of leaflets and other forms of campaign literature dealing with the campaign issues and political and economic conditions from the Socialist viewpoint. This literature should be distributed by the Socialist Party organizations and members in hitherto unattained quantities; special Socialist campaign meetings should be held all over the country, and our press should never miss an opportunity to stress the Socialist point of view.

Party Organization

Above all, however, the coming campaign will furnish an unexampled opportunity for extending our party organization and increasing its membership. It will heighten the popular interest in economic and political problems to a greater degree than ever before. Our message will reach large masses of sympathetically inclined workers. We must make it our steady aim to win and retain their confidence, support and adherence. No Socialist Party campaign meeting, large or small, should be allowed to pass without an appeal to the audience

to join the party, and every effort should be made to revive dormant Socialist Party organizations, to extend the active organizations and to create new ones wherever possible.

For your guidance and co-operation the following paragraphs are reproduced from the Declaration of Principles and Platform adopted by the Conference for Progressive Political Action:

"State Conferences:—As soon as practicable, the National Committee shall call Conferences of farmers' organizations, labor unions, co-operative societies and other progressive political forces, including individuals, in each state of the Union, for the purpose of perfecting permanent State Organizations.

Such Conferences shall be composed of the state and local organizations of farmers and workers, local co-operative societies and ward or assembly district organizations of the progressive political parties and groups represented in the Conference. Each of such organizations shall be entitled to one delegate. The mode of voting at such State Conference shall be the same as herein provided for General Meetings of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, except that on roll call votes each non-political organization shall be entitled to one vote for every thousand members in good standing, or fraction thereof, and political organizations shall be entitled to one vote for every 5,000 votes cast for their candidate for the office of Governor in the last preceding election. State political organizations affiliated with this Conference, which are already organized, shall be allowed to continue their existing forms of organization and methods of work. Organizations within the different states affiliated with this Conference may take the initiative in constituting such State Conference unnoticed to the National Committee.

"Rights and Functions of State Conferences:—The State Conferences thus called by the National Committee shall elect their own officers and State Committees and shall organize the progressive political forces within the state for the purpose of securing the nomination and election of public officers who are in accord with the aims and objects of this Conference. Each State Conference shall decide upon the question whether the nomination and election of candidates pledged to the program of the Conference in such state can be best accomplished through the primaries of the old parties or by the method of independent political action. In cases in which the decision is in favor of concerted action in the old party primaries but such method does not result in the nomination of progressive candidates,

the State Conferences shall, if possible, make independent nominations.

*"Local Conferences:—*The State Conference, or where no state organization has been perfected, the National Committee of the Conference may organize City, County or other local Conferences upon the same basis and for the same purpose and with the same rights and functions as the State Conferences, within their respective territories."

A powerful political organization of the toiling masses, and a well organized, strong and efficient Socialist Party to go along with it, to counsel it and to serve it, is the aim towards which we all must work. Your National Executive Committee expects every true Socialist to co-operate with it for

the attainment of that great aim with all the power and means at their command; with all the faith and hope, with all the ardor and enthusiasm that has made the Socialist movement a power in the world.

With fraternal greetings,

Eugene V. Debs,

National Chairman.

Victor L. Berger

James H. Maurer

John M. Collins

Geo. E. Roewer, Jr.

Leo M. Harkins

Joseph W. Sharts

Morris Hillquit

National Executive Committee

Bertha Hale White,

National Executive Secretary.

DEBS REPLIES TO FOSTER

Below will be found two letters which fully explain themselves. As Mr. Foster gave his letter to the press for publication at the same time that he mailed his copy to Mr. Debs, we think it due our readers to publish the reply of Mr. Debs as well as the communication of Mr. Foster.

Mr. Foster's Letter:

Chicago, Illinois,
July 15, 1924.

Mr. Eugene V. Debs,
c/o Lindlahr Sanitarium,
Elmhurst, Ill.

Dear Comrade Debs:

Your statement in support of LaFollette, which appears today in the capitalist press, is an astounding document. In spite of the indications previously given that you would allow Hillquit to carry the Socialist Party into the camp of the Wisconsin senator, your complete capitulation to this petty-bourgeois reformer will come as a shock to thousands of workers, who look upon you as an enemy of the capitalist system.

But what will the workers, who have followed you for so many years in building up some semblance of independent political action, now think when you abandon it all and give your unqualified endorsement to the personal campaign of an individual who is not only NOT a Socialist, but is an avowed anti-Socialist? What will they think when they see this personal candidacy, with your endorsement, destroying all the traces of independent political organization built up thru years of painful effort?

You seem to believe that LaFollette will, in some

unspecified future, help you to build a labor party. Did he give any signs of such intentions at Cleveland? Decidedly not! He did not allow the convention to write a word of his program, or to have a word to say as to candidates, not even the vice-presidential candidacy. He acted the part of an absolute dictator. He is pledged to align himself with old party politicians of both the capitalist parties. He dealt a death blow at the great rank and file labor party convention in St. Paul and already he is setting up his machinery in the various states to destroy and wipe out the budding labor parties that were being built, substituting thereof a parody of the old parties with lawyers, preaches, and professional politicians as his henchmen. Nowhere is the LaFollette candidacy in the hands of "Labor party" elements. Even in Minnesota his representative is the banker, Sinclair. You may rest assured that a real party of industrial workers and exploited farmers can be built only in the face of LaFollette's active opposition.

When Hillquit was making his glowing eulogy of LaFollette at Cleveland, as the one outstanding champion of the oppressed, I thought of you, and wondered what had become of the old war-horse who had fought for so long to break the ties with the capitalist parties that Hillquit was re-establishing. I wondered why the eulogy should go to a petty bourgeois politician, who has fought against socialism all his life, and that the working-class militants were forgotten in a supreme moment in the political life of the workers! Very few will be surprised at Hillquit. He is already well-known! But that you should, without qualification, fall into step behind him comes as something of a shock.

You have occupied a position of leadership before the revolutionary workers of America, and thereby you have accepted responsibility toward these workers. Thousands of them will join me in saying that this "golden opportunity" which you have embraced on the advice of Mr. Hillquit is an opportunity only for the enemy of working-class action on the political field. For the workers it stands as the "height of stupidity and folly and depth of desertion and betrayal" to ask them to abandon all their past efforts at independent action and to submit unconditionally to the whims of a politician who is not, even yet, outside of the Republican Party of Calvin Coolidge, Charles C. Dawes and J. P. Morgan.

The petty bourgeois united front is now complete from Hearst to Debs. The Socialist Party is liquidated, together with its last remnants of leadership, which were in your hands, and which you now voluntarily surrender to LaFollette.

Faternally yours,

WM. Z. FOSTER.

Reply of Mr. Debs

Elmhurst, Illinois,
July 23, 1924.

Mr. Wm. Z. Foster,
1113 W. Washington Blvd.,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade Foster:

Your favor of the 15th inst. was duly received and has been carefully read and considered. Answering I have to say that I am unable to understand why you should regard the statement of my attitude toward the recent conventions at Cleveland as an "astounding document," or why you should conclude that it "will come as a shock to thousands of workers." I know, of course, that you have a very poor opinion of the Socialist party—quite as poor as my opinion of the Communist party—and I can readily understand why it would have suited you far better had the Socialist party ended its career at Cleveland and disappeared from the scene, or remained dissevered to cut as sorry and discrediting a figure as the Communist party will in the campaign this year.

That my endorsement of LaFollette under the circumstances seemed "astounding" and "shocking" to you appears not a little strange to me in the light of the fact that the St. Paul convention, dominated absolutely by the Communists, intended, according to some of its chief spokesmen, including Mahoney and Ruthenberg, to do that very thing, that is to say, endorse the nomination of LaFollette for the Presidency, (the nomination of Duncan McDonald being made "conditional" with that end in view)

and it would no doubt have done so had not La Follette, knowing the record of the Communists and understanding their game, publicly denounced them and positively refused their endorsement.

Mahoney has since declared, according to a press dispatch, that he had been "double-crossed" by the Communists and that the net result of their duplicity and treachery would be a split in the ranks, if not the disruption of the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota.

You may be right in your criticism of my position and I may be wrong, as I have often been before. Having no Vatican in Moscow to guide me I must follow the light I have, and this I have done in the present instance, as I always have in the past, and I have never yet feared, nor do I now, the consequences of my acts.

The members of the Socialist party, as far as I know, are entirely satisfied with the position I have taken and the statement I have issued relative to the Cleveland conventions, and I see no reason why I should explain or give an account of myself to the Communists, or why I should have any concern whatsoever about their opinion of my actions.

With all due courtesy to you personally, I remain

Yours fraternally,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

REGISTER—AND VOTE!

In the presidential election of 1920 it is estimated that 51 per cent of the citizens of this country—men and women alike—*failed to vote*. Millions of them failed to qualify—failed to take the trouble to have themselves registered, and thereby entitled to cast their ballots in the national and state elections.

The largest number of those who failed to register and vote resided in the great industrial states—in those states where the potential strength of a Labor party lies.

This year every ounce of energy should be exerted by Socialists and others interested in the formation of a Labor party—**FROM NOW ON**—to seeing that every last man and woman of the working class **QUALIFIES TO VOTE**—qualifies by registering—enlisting—for the battle of ballots in November.

Every Socialist local, and every organization affiliated with the C. P. P. A. should launch a campaign—**NOW**—and *see to it that every supporter gets his or her name on the voters' list*.

Making converts of persons who fail to register is wasted effort: it is **BALLOTS** not sentiment that will count in November.

To your posts, comrades! Every man and woman on the job working for a big registration of the army of toilers!

Resolutions Adopted by the Socialist Party Convention at Cleveland, July, 1924

RESOLUTION ON ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Whereas, the present is an age of organization in which all classes, irrespective of trade, profession, business or calling unite for the promotion of their mutual welfare; and

Whereas, unions in the various trades and industries furnish the workers with the only means of protection for themselves on the job, machinery to improve working conditions, and power to hold and to increase wages to meet the frequent increases in living costs; unionism being in fact one of the institutions on which they can rely for redress of grievances, and for the economic protection without which they would lapse into a condition of industrial peonage; therefore be it

Resolved, by the Socialist Party of the United States, in national convention assembled this 7th day of July, 1924, that we reiterate our declaration that it is the duty of all Socialist wage earners to become active members of the unions in their respective industries, in order that labor as a united body may be fortified in its economic struggle to abolish the many wrongs and injustices perpetrated upon the workers by the employers; and be it further

Resolved, that in conformity with Socialist principles it is the duty of all Socialists, whatsoever their occupation or calling, to give loyal support to organized labor in its struggle to maintain and better wages and conditions of employment.

RESOLUTIONS ON ABUSES OF THE COURTS

The Espionage Law

(1) Resolved, that the Socialist Party declares for the repeal of the Espionage Law and for the release of all persons who have been imprisoned under these laws, and for the restoration to all such persons of all the rights of American citizenship.

The Syndicalism Law

(2) Resolved, that the syndicalism laws shall be repealed and all persons imprisoned under these laws shall be released with the full rights of American citizenship.

Victims of Conspiracy

(3) Resolved, that the Socialist Party declares

for the release of Mooney and Billings and of Sacco and Vanzetti and of all other persons who are imprisoned as the victims of conspiracy to destroy the organizations of labor.

(4) Resolved, that the Socialist Party declares that it will work unceasingly to accomplish the repeal of these laws and the release of all prisoners convicted under them.

RESOLUTION ON FARM PROBLEMS

Resolved, that the Socialist Party declares that the only means by which the farmers and other primary producers are compelled to accept starvation wages for their labor or starvation prices for their products is through the power of private monopolies;

That it is equally true that the only means by which all consumers are obliged to pay starvation prices which are not determined by the cost of production nor by the free play of supply and demand, is also through the power of private monopolies;

That all such monopolies are either monopolies in the natural resources, or in transportation, or in large scale manufactures, markets or credits, with the grip of the international bankers felt with controlling force in the management of them all;

That the natural resources, as farming lands, forests, mines, oil fields, water power and fisheries, together with the great equipments used in the services of transportation, manufactures, markets and credits should belong first of all to those who use them;

That no private monopoly in any of these matters can exist except with the consent and under the protection of the powers of the state and nation;

Resolved, that the current use of the public powers in the creation and protection of such monopolies is an unendurable abuse of the powers of the state and nation;

That the only way of escape for the farmers, the miners, the timber workers, and the fisherman, as well as for all the transport workers, commercial workers, and all borrowers, together with all consumers, must be found in co-operation in the limited fields where co-operation is possible, and in public ownership wherever the undertaking is too vast for voluntary enterprise;

That legislation and a friendly administration of such legislation must provide for a first claim on natural resources by those who use them—not those

who monopolize them for purposes of exploitation;

That in order to accomplish these purposes, the Socialist Party gives its support to:

(1) A system of farm loans sufficient to meet the requirements of all farmers who own or seek to own farm lands solely for their own occupancy and use, these loans to be provided by the use of the public credit and at interest rates only sufficient to cover the cost of operation, and in this way make an end of all profits to anyone through land-shark transactions or needless farm mortgage foreclosures, and so make an end of agricultural serfdom by transforming farm tenants into farm owners.

(2) A system of publicly owned and operated means of transportation, together with storage, preserving, packing and marketing of farm products in order to promote direct dealing between farmers and city consumers at the cost of the service in their mutual advantage.

(3) The stabilization of prices on staple farm products and the granting of current or short time credits as required in productive farm operations, to the end that farmers may know when assuming such obligations just what and how much they must produce in order to make payments.

(4) To provide collective credits both for the purchase of farm lands and for carrying on co-operative farming, and for co-operative manufacturing and marketing of farm products to co-operative organizations on the same terms as to individuals.

(5) To provide for like credits to co-operative organizations in the purchase of supplies and in home building undertakings, and to extend to such co-operative bodies all the protection now afforded to individuals, firms or corporations.

Finally, the Socialist Party would remind all forward looking farmers that there can be no prosperity for their industry without a home market composed of industrial workers financially equipped to buy the farm products at a price that will adequately compensate farmers for their labor; and further, the party urges both farmers and workers to give their support to the above proposals as a practicable remedy for the parasitic exactions of needless middlemen.

RESOLUTION ON EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Resolved, by the National Convention of the Socialist Party held in Cleveland, July, 1924:

1. That the National Executive Committee is instructed to appoint a committee of not less than five nor more than nine members, which committee shall make a study of the educational needs and possibilities of the political movement, and shall formulate plans for extending, systematizing and

improving the educational work of the Socialist Party and related organizations.

2. That this committee shall carry on its investigations and deliberations in the main by correspondence; but that the National Executive Committee is authorized, if such action seems advisable and if finances permit, to cover the expense of one or two meetings of the committee, as well as to cover the expenses for typewriting, postage, and so forth.

3. That the committee shall take under consideration at least the following lines of work, namely,—(a) Educational activity among children; (b) the educational work of the Y.P.S.L.; (c) the conduct of study clubs or circles, for adults in connection with party locals; (d) the training of young men and women for service to the movement as secretaries, organizers, propagandists, teachers, and so forth.

4. That the committee shall from time to time report its findings and recommendations to the National Executive Committee, and through it to the state committees and the membership, and shall render a final report to the National Convention in 1926.

5. That during the two intervening years the National Executive Committee shall determine how far it is desirable and practicable to put into effect such plans as the committee shall propose.

RESOLUTION ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND WAR DEBTS

Resolved, that the Socialist Party favors a foreign policy which shall unite all nations in an international federation based upon industrial democracy.

The present league of nations was organized by bankers for the main purpose of mortgaging all nations to a few Shylocks and forcing the Versailles treaty upon the whole world.

The domestic tax programs and international loans of these money lenders are parts of a general plan to impose a perpetual tribute upon the living and unborn generations without regard to the economic welfare of mankind.

The European Labor and Socialist parties have submitted to the so-called Dawes plan of reparations only because without full control of their governments they have no other way at present to get out of the chaos created by the Versailles treaty.

They intend to transform the present league of nations into a really democratic body in proportion as they gain power in their own nations. The capitalist parties on the contrary, while they want Germany in the league, aim to cancel only the allied war debts and to make Germany pay a huge fine.

This position of the European governments shifts the payment of war debts and fines to the American and German taxpayers. The Mellon tax plan aimed to force the American taxpayers into this program. This plot has been temporarily defeated, but the bankers can attain their object by other means, such as deflation, price juggling and manipulation of international exchange values.

If war debts are to be cancelled, the American and German people should also be freed from the financial burdens of the Versailles treaty and the Dawes plan. The financial clauses of the Versailles treaty should be wiped completely off the slate.

The Socialist Party does not favor the entry of the United States into the league of nations under any old party government. It urges the voters to defeat the bankers and all other profiteers by electing a popular government which shall help the democratic governments of Europe to make an end forever of all enslaving and profiteering loans.

RESOLUTION ON PORTO RICO

Whereas, the people of Porto Rico are exploited to a degree unsurpassed in any part of the United States or its possessions, two-thirds of its total product being shipped out of the country to absentee landlords and owners, for which the people of Porto Rico get nothing in return; and

Whereas, the working people of Porto Rico have developed splendid organizations both upon the political and economic field, having polled for the Socialist Party of Porto Rico nearly sixty thousand votes in the election of 1920, and have organized into the various unions of the American Federation of Labor more than twenty thousand members; and

Whereas, the reactionary Government at Washington and the sugar planters of Porto Rico have completed a combination of the two capitalist parties of Porto Rico to defeat the forces of Labor upon the political field, preparatory to an attempt to crush their unions in the economic field; therefore.

Be it Resolved, that the Socialist Party of America in convention assembled, hereby expresses its sympathy for and kindship with these working class organizations of Porto Rico, and urges them to continue in their struggle to raise their standard of living and to bring ultimate freedom to the working people of Porto Rico; and be it

Further Resolved, that we urge upon the Socialist Representative in Congress to do all within his power to aid our Brothers of Porto Rico in their struggles; and be it

Further Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to Senor Iglesias, the president of the Socialist

Party of Porto Rico, extending to him the fraternal greetings of the Socialist Party of the United States.

Resolution on Adult Workers' Education

Whereas, the greatest need of the hour in the rank and file of the American labor movement is a more intelligent understanding of its history, aims, struggles and ideals, and a more informed and efficient leadership to guide and inspire it onward to ever greater conquests on the industrial, political, co-operative and cultural fields; and

Whereas, a number of trade unions, Central Labor Bodies and State Federations of Labor have already started labor colleges and classes; be it

Resolved, that the National Convention of the Socialist Party urges all party members and party branches to co-operate actively in the formation of such colleges and classes; and

Resolved, that we endorse the educational work of the Rand School and of the Workers Education Bureau, and urge the Workers Education Bureau to reconsider its refusal to permit the affiliation of the Rand School.

Resolution on Child Labor

Resolved, that we pledge the active support of the Socialist Party to the movement for prompt ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and, as soon as it is ratified, for the enactment of a drastic law to abolish child labor.

Resolution on Proportional Representation

In order to insure just representation of all the people in their representative bodies, we favor for the election of all such bodies a system of proportional representation which shall give to every group of like-minded voters substantially the same share of the members elected that it has of the votes cast.

Resolution on Ku Klux Klan

We emphatically condemn the Ku Klux Klan and every other effort to divide the workers on racial or religious lines or to effect political purposes by secret and terroristic methods.

Resolution on the Fascisti

The National Convention of the Socialist Party unites with the Labor and Socialist movement of all countries in protest against the regime of terror and assassination that prevails in Italy under the rule of Mussolini and the Fascisti.

The murder of Socialist Deputy Matteotti was the logical culmination of this rule by violence and terror.

If you Government at Washington were sincere in its professed opposition to governments which secure and maintain their power by violence and terrorism, it would immediately send home the Italian ambassador and break off relations with the Mussolini Government.

Resolution on Berger's Bill to Restore the Economic Balance

Resolved, that the Socialist Party renew its endorsement of H. R. Bill No. 4081, introduced by Congressman Victor L. Berger, for the purpose of restoring the economic balance between America and Central Europe by a revolving credit of \$1,000,000,000 to be extended to private individuals without profiteering and under safeguards insuring protection to the citizens of both nations.

Resolution on Sex Discrimination

Resolved, that the Socialist Party favors the removal of legal discriminations against women by specific measures not prejudicial to women's labor laws or other social welfare legislation.

Resolution on Y.P.S.L.

It is recommended that the National Executive Committee give its most serious attention and best efforts to devise ways and means of getting youthful wage workers into the ranks of the Young People's Socialist League.

Resolution on Emigration and Immigration

The Socialist Party of the United States considers emigration and immigration international problems which can be solved only by international conferences, not by each country for itself. The Socialist Party will bring this problem to the attention of international Socialist congresses.

The Socialist Party opposes all measures that brand certain nationalities with the stamp of inferiority. It also opposes all movements to pass and enforce laws which handicap, oppress or exploit immigrants. It denounces so-called Americanization plans which merely conceal hatred of Labor and Socialist ideas among immigrants without making for better American citizenship. It combats any registration of immigrants which would place them under police supervision and mark them as felons.

The Socialist Party favors measures for the protection of immigrants against official chicanery and

private swindlers. It demands that political exiles not guilty of felonies shall find a refuge in America if they seek it.

The Socialist Party offers to instruct immigrants on American principles, customs and conditions, and to support all genuine efforts to make them good citizens.

Resolution on Japan

Resolved, that we send fraternal greetings to the Socialist and Labor organizations of Japan, and promise that we shall do our part, as we are sure they will do theirs, to frustrate the attempt of American and of Japanese militarists to breed hatred between the two peoples and eventually plunge them into war.

Resolution on the Negro Workers

The task before the Socialist Party of emancipating the workers of city and country from exploitation is too great a one to be carried to a successful conclusion by any one section of the working-class. We therefore urge all workers to bury their differences of race, color, or creed in order to wage more successfully their common struggle against exploitation.

In particular, we urge upon the white workers the necessity of co-operating whole-heartedly with their Negro fellow-workers, encouraging their organization in labor unions, and breaking down the prejudices that still survive.

Not until the non-Socialist white workers realize the truth of the Socialist position, that their Negro brothers are an integral part of the working class, and that their co-operation is essential in the day-to-day struggle for better conditions and in the ultimate struggle for the abolition of exploitation, will the Socialist movement and the trade unions acquire the power and influence that they need to do their work effectively.

This Convention records its hearty appreciation of the work of our Negro comrades who are doing so much to rouse the Negro workers to an interest in Socialism.

IN NEXT MONTH'S ISSUE

Among the articles which will be published in the next number of *The Socialist World* are the following:

Report of Congressman Victor L. Berger.

Report of the Jugo-Slav Federation.

Report of the Bohemian Federation.

War a Business Necessity, by W. W. Passage.

DEBS ACCEPTS PARTY CHAIRMANSHIP

To the Delegates of the Socialist Party
in Recent Convention Assembled at
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Comrades:

The formal notification of the high honor you have conferred upon me, by electing me National Chairman of the Socialist Party, having been served upon me by a special committee consisting of Comrades Bertha Hale White, our National Secretary, James Oneal, and William and Emma Henry, acting in behalf of the Convention and the Party, I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to advise you of my acceptance of the post to which your partiality and confidence have assigned me, deeply sensible of the responsibility thus imposed, and to return my deepest thanks for this unsought and unexpected manifestation of your esteem and good will which has a value and significance to me far beyond the power of expression.

You are aware that for some time I have been obliged to abandon my usual activities in behalf of the Socialist movement on account of illness resulting mainly from nervous exhaustion, and that during this period I have been under treatment at a sanitarium where I am still confined with no immediate prospect of being able to take up my work again in the near future, although the physicians in charge assure me that if I allow myself sufficient time, remain quite and undisturbed, avoid all contact of an exciting nature, and give my undivided time and attention to the prescribed course of treatment, I may look forward with confidence to the restoration of my shattered health and wasted energies.

It is not without great reluctance, as you may well understand, that I inject such private detail into this letter of acceptance, but in view of the trust you have reposed in me and of my physical incapacity for the time being to render the active service that may be required in connection with the important post of the National Chairmanship of the Socialist Party, I feel that frankness demands on my part that I make the qualifying statement in this message of acceptance that I can give no definite promise at this time as to what I shall be able to do in the service of the party, beyond the assurance that I shall do the best I can and all I can, however meager it may be, within the limitations forced upon me in my present isolated situation.

And now permit me to add a few reflections upon the recent Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland, and upon

the attitude and action of the Convention of the Socialist Party in relation to the movement for independent political action launched by the progressive labor forces there represented.

The enemies of the Socialist Party declare in tearful and lugubrious terms that the party was "wrecked" by the action of our Convention at Cleveland. Reading between the lines of their malicious comment they betray their chagrin and disappointment that the party was *not wrecked*, but on the contrary that it had the alertness and sagacity to seize the "tide in the affairs of men that bears them on to fortune" and to open to the party new and wider and more fruitful fields of educational and progressive achievement.

The "wrecking" of the Socialist Party by those who hate it because they could not wreck it, unwittingly attests its virility and seems necessary to its healthy growth and development. The party has been "wrecked" so often in the past by those who would jubilate over its downfall that one would imagine that even they would despair of their vain pursuit and engage in a less stale and more profitable occupation.

The truth is that the party would have been torn in twain, its lone campaign would have proved a dismal failure, and the party, what was left of it, would have found itself upon the rocks to the dismay of its loyal members and the delight of its equally loyal "wreckers," had the Convention been so lacking in vision as to refuse this golden opportunity to align itself and the party it represented with the forward-looking forces of the American labor movement.

I impugn the motive of no minority delegate for I know they were absolutely loyal to the party according to their light, but I feel convinced that in good time they will realize that the Convention acted wisely and that the logic of events will vindicate their action. In this connection I confess frankly that three months ago and even less I could not have conceived the possibility of finding myself in agreement with the position taken by the majority when the issue was presented for decisive action in the unprecedented and extraordinary situation that confronted the delegates.

We have learned in the Socialist movement by practical experience, notwithstanding our "No Compromise" dogma, that we cannot lay down hard and fast rules to govern our party and ourselves under all the exigencies that arise from time to time in the development of the labor movement.

Fundamental principles must remain fixed and

inviolable, and these were left unimpaired by our Cleveland Convention, but methods and tactics must be left flexible and adapted to the inevitable changes that take place in the opposing forces which challenge our advance.

There is genius in a wise compromise and in a masterly retreat.

The great Lenin demonstrated the truth of this on many occasions and in this commanding feature of his leadership saved the Soviet Republic and proved his greatness to the world. He executed a series of masterly retreats and compromises in the face of the bitter opposition of his own party, but he smiled grimly and confidently awaited the vindication which never failed him.

Strategy in war—and the class struggle is nothing less than a class war—is not only justifiable but an imperative necessity if defeat is to be avoided and victory achieved. In the exigencies of war everything may depend upon a change of position, a shifting of forces, a flank movement. There are times when a retreat is in actuality an advance. It not infrequently happens that "the longest way around is the shortest way there."

The Cleveland convention of the Socialist Party

requires no justification from me nor from anyone. It has justified itself and time will prove it.

I am aware of all the objections made to the convention of the Conference for Progressive Action and to the results of its deliberation, but the fact remains that *that historic gathering of labor's forward-moving forces was in embryo the American Labor Party*. It was nebulous, no doubt; it lacked clarity, true enough, but it was at least a beginning and under the circumstances a very promising one.

Let us of the Socialist Party get behind this movement unitedly and whole-heartedly; let us enter the campaign with all the support at our command and help make it an overwhelming success.

And above all, let the Socialist Party, as in the past, serve as the guide, the counsellor and the inspiration of the progressive forces of labor until the American Labor Party is actually achieved and stands forth as the conquering power in the struggle for Labor's Emancipation.

Believe me with unrelaxing faith and devotion,

Yours fraternally,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Elmhurst, Ill.,
July 15, 1924.

Resolutions of the C. P. P. A. Convention

- Adopted at Cleveland, Ohio, July 5, 1924 -

(1.) Resolved, that we favor the enactment of the *postal salary adjustment measure for the employees of the postal service* passed by the first session of the sixty-eighth congress and vetoed by President Coolidge.

(2.) Resolved, that we favor enforcement and extension of the *merit system in the federal civil service* to all its branches and transfer of the functions of the personnel classification board to the United States civil service commission.

(3.) Resolved, that we favor the immediate and complete *independence of the Philippine Islands*, in accordance with the pledges of the official representatives of the American people.

(4.) Resolved, that appropriate legislation be enacted which will provide for the people of the *Virgin Islands a more permanent form of civil government* such as will enable them to attain their economic, industrial and political betterment.

(5.) Resolved, that we deeply sympathize with the aspiration of the Irish people for freedom and independence.

(6.) Resolved, that in the prevailing starvation in Germany, which according to authoritative evidence is beyond the scope of private charity, and in the event of like destitution in any other country, we consider it humane and just; and in conformity with our traditions and former practices, that the *aid of our government should be extended in the form of the delivery of surplus food supplies to a reasonable amount, and upon such conditions as the emergency may justify.*

(7.) Resolved, that we *denounce every such use of the armed forces of the United States to aid in the exploitation of weaker nations, as has occurred all too frequently in our relations with Haiti, San Domingo, Nicaragua and other nations of Central and South America.*

A CAMPAIGN CANARD

The futility of denying campaign calumnies and falsehoods became convincingly apparent to me many years ago and led to the adoption of the almost invariable rule to treat such lies and misrepresentations with silent contempt.

The capitalist press, the mouthpiece of the capitalist class, covers the entire continent every hour of the day, whereas our comparatively feeble press service covers but limited section weekly or monthly, save in one or two instances, and is confined almost wholly to our own people.

Thus a falsehood may be spread over the entire country in an hour by the capitalist press which could not be successfully refuted by us in a year, and galling as it may be to be thus victimized, it is better to grin and bear it than to waste time in vain and repeated denial, and patiently wait until the people finally learn to read capitalist papers for what they are. Meanwhile there is some satisfaction in knowing that one is deemed of sufficient account to be lied about by the enemies of the people.

These remarks have been inspired by a story that has been going the rounds ever since Mr. John W. Davis, Democratic nominee for the Presidency, has been mentioned in connection with that office. The story is to the effect that during a strike of the miners in West Virginia, which was about to culminate in riot and bloodshed, and in the course of which I was arrested and placed on trial, Mr. Davis came to the front and gave his legal services freely and without charge, securing my acquittal and

release; and that then and there we became personal friends, and out of sheer gratitude for the service he had rendered me in a most critical situation, I rejoiced frankly in his nomination and, inferentially, would support him in his campaign for the Presidency.

When I first saw the story I decided to pay no attention to it, but since then it has travelled from coast to coast, provoking a most interesting variety of editorial comment, and so continuously and persistently has the story been retailed in the capitalist press; and so many inquiries have been made in regard to it, that a number of my friends and comrades have come to insist that I must disregard my rule in this instance and deny the story over my own signature.

And this must be my apology for inflicting my readers with this statement.

But few words will be required to dispose of this fairy tale, made out of whole cloth, without a word of truth in it. In the strike in question I had an injunction issued against me by Judge Jackson of the Federal Court and was threatened with arrest, but I was never placed on trial. As for Mr. Davis having defended me and secured by acquittal, or as to his having tendered his legal services at my trial, (there was no trial) that is pure fiction—unadulterated fabrication. The truth is that, so far as I know, I have never seen Mr. Davis.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

SOCIALIST SPEAKERS

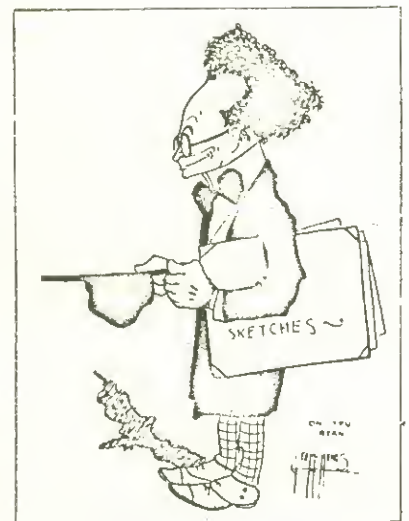
Will Be in Great Demand in the
1924 CAMPAIGN

The National Office is Preparing to Meet the Demand. If You Want to Engage Any Speakers Send in Your Application Without Delay—NOW—to the

SOCIALIST PARTY

2653 WASHINGTON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL.

Have You Applied for a Ryan Walker "Chalk-Talk" Lecture? Walker Will Speak for the Party During September and October. Better Get Busy and Apply for a Date!



A FEW WORDS TO DOUBTERS

By Norman Thomas

This editorial is not intended for the man or woman 100% enthusiastic about the La Follette campaign. It is intended for the sincere radical who for one reason or another is doubtful. It is an attempt to deal frankly with criticisms of the Cleveland convention and program which we have heard from various sources.

The communists charge betrayal at Cleveland of the masses "into the hands of merchants, manufacturers, bankers and rich farmers." Some who are not communists to a certain degree share this fear. Of course the La Follette movement is not as a whole Socialist, but there was no betrayal at Cleveland. The Cleveland conference was dominated by bona-fide organizations of workers and farmers. If it was not Socialist that is because those organizations are not Socialist. What La Follette proposes to do is very definitely for the benefit of workers in farm and factory. For instance, restriction of the power of the courts and the end of government by injunction are not measures of interest to "merchants, manufacturers, bankers and rich farmers" but to labor. They are a necessary preliminary to both economic and political action by labor. The nationalization and social control of railroads and superpower are not objects dear to the heart of most bankers. While they will not hurt bona-fide merchants they are measures that go a substantial distance toward establishing industrial democracy as against capitalist autocracy.

It is true that the platform omitted matters some of us would like to have had inserted, and inserted matters that some of us would like to have seen treated otherwise. Nevertheless, it remains the most definite and clear-cut platform based on recognition of the underlying importance of economic conditions which any considerable body of American producers has yet adopted. From a Socialist standpoint, while some of the implications of the La Follette philosophy may seem backward, its concrete proposals are all forward looking. They propose to end private monopoly not by restoring impossible competition in natural monopolies like railroads and superpower but by nationalizing them.

It is true that prominent in the Cleveland convention were labor leaders who still sighed for McAdoo or Smith and who might have deserted the La Follette movement secretly or openly had either McAdoo or Smith been nominated. Neither of them were. The logic of events and the pressure of the rank and file will hold these men in line and

educate them to the necessity of independent political action.

It is true that a third party was not formed at Cleveland, but Senator La Follette definitely committed himself to the formation of such a party if the results of this election would warrant it. And positive steps were taken looking toward that end at the Cleveland Convention. Meanwhile the situation gives the Socialists an opportunity to cooperate frankly and cordially without denying their belief or abandoning their own organization. If their own theories are sound and their own abilities equal to the task they have a great opportunity to persuade the working masses on whom the success of their cause must depend.

To recapitulate, the progressive movement as developed at Cleveland presents:

(1) Senator La Follette, a leader of proved capacity, courage and character with an enormous popular appeal and a forward looking plan of action.

(2) A long step toward the formation of a new party based primarily on the economic organizations of farmers and workers as is the British Labor Party.

(3) Definite cooperation of more labor and progressive groups than have ever worked together before on the political field.

(4) A program which goes as far in immediate proposals as the most radical party could now hope to carry out. To compare the Cleveland platform with the C.P.P.A. platform of 1922 is ground for enormous encouragement.

ORGANIZE!

For effective political and propaganda purposes ORGANIZATION is absolutely necessary. In every town or locality containing five or more Socialists steps should be taken to form a party local. For information on how to proceed write to the National Office.

NOTICE

The minutes of the July meeting of the National Executive Committee held in New York City will be published in the next issue of The Socialist World.

Proclamation of the United Socialist Party of Italy

Rome, June 19, 1924.

Comrades!

Giacomo Matteotti, the Secretary of the United Socialist Party, the ardent leader of our ranks, the brave and enthusiastic struggler for the international cause, fell a victim of a vile aggression and was killed, although his murderers have not yet rendered us his dead body.

The responsibility for this murder, executed with the calculated purpose to hit the very heart of our Socialist movement, falls on the very highest personalities of the Fascist party and the Fascist government.

The news of the crime has already stirred profoundly the soul of the laborers of the whole world. What we are giving here is but an official communication, denouncing to our comrades and brothers of the Socialist Internationale the loathsome crime—which is not the last the Italian proletariat will have to endure, after three years of martyrdom in the struggle against a ruthless oppression that does not even shrink from murder.

In the bitterness of our mourning for the irreparable loss of our martyr, Giacomo Matteotti, our only consolation is the ardent solidarity of the Socialist Internationale that stigmatizes throughout the whole world by numerous manifestations the treacherous murder.

Under the storm of blood and violence our Party shall not falter. We are closing our ranks and have chosen Comrade Luigi Basso to take the place of our fallen friend as secretary of the United Socialist Party.

Long live Socialism!

Long live the Internationale!

Executive Committee

(Signed) Luigi Basso, Secretary.

Proclamation

The Executive Committee of the United Socialist Party of Italy, meeting for the first time since the fiendish crime which deprived it of its political secretary; and remembering in its deepest affliction the high intellect, the ardent faith, the untiring activity and the sublime heroism of the great martyr, Giacomo Matteotti, cries out to the Party, to the Nation, to the World its unspeakable pain.

Calling back the ideals of love, of justice, and of peace which inspired the passion of its murdered comrade, the Executive Committee banishes from

its soul any feeling of hatred or vengeance, demanding only that justice be meted out to those guilty of the heinous crime, and pledging its support to those seeking to attain this end.

The Committee declares that the situation revealed by this murder discloses with ever increasing certainty that the responsibility for it is not limited to the hired assassins, nor to those who hired them, but goes straight up to the government. It therefore proclaims the necessity, for the sake of real peace, of returning to normal public life by putting an end to the present regime, born of violence, nurtured by violence, and now necessarily involved in an abominable crime.

For the sake of the our esteemed martyr, and because of the high importance of the case, the Executive Committee begs all comrades and friends, and all right thinking persons who share its indignation to refrain from participating in any unseemly manifestations, considering that they would be inadequate in the present situation and might give the pretext our adversaries are longing for to divert public attention from themselves. We remind our friends that the only way to honor Giacomo Matteotti is by redeeming our country from the dictatorship that weighs it down and dishonors it.

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

Subscription Price: \$1.00 a year.

Single Copies 10c

All matter intended for publication must reach this office not later than the 1st of the month preceding date of issue. Published Monthly at 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

by the

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

BERTHA HALE-WHITE, Bus. Mgr.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

EUGENE V. DEBS, National Chairman,
Terre Haute, Ind.

BERTHA HALE WHITE, Executive Secretary,
2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Victor L. Berger, 980 First St., Milwaukee, Wis.
John M. Collins, 839 N. St. Louis Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Leo M. Harkins, 1325 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Morris Hillquit, 19 West 44th St., New York City, N. Y.
James H. Maurer, 430 North St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Geo. E. Roewer, Jr., 20 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.
Joseph W. Sharts, 805 Commercial Bldg., Dayton, Ohio.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY

Morris Hillquit, 19 West 44th St., New York City, N. Y.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEPARTMENT

Albert Weisbord, National Director,
64 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.